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one of the public buildings. German and North American scientists visited the archaeological ruins and incidentally the town; indeed, the railroad ran special excursion trains to El Parque.

This period of brilliance, like, no doubt, other earlier periods of the sort, was terminated by revolution—that of 1910. Perhaps no other part of Mexico was so swept by the fury of war as was Morelos. For years this state was the scene of sanguinary encounters between Zapatistas and Carranzistas. The railroads were torn up, the sugar mills destroyed, and most of the cattle exterminated. During almost two years Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated except when federal or Zapatista troops occupied the town. Almost all the more substantial houses were partly or entirely destroyed. The little museum was wrecked and its contents scattered. After people began to return, there was a long period of suffering from famine and sickness.[1]

[1] A Zapatista soldier who spent eight years in the campaign, part of this time in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán, his home, described the period thus: "In the time of the revolution, for a long period, Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated. The people went to Mexico, or to the hills. The hills north of the town are full of caves where people lived. Some built lean-tos of cornstalks under big trees. For a time there was enough food. We used to come down from the hills at night to get corn. If there was anybody in the town, it would be Federal troops. We would go very quietly, listening. If we heard nothing, we entered and took the corn. The people who owned fruit trees would come down from the hills by night to rob their own trees.

"The hills were the populated places, the towns the wild places. So we went into the towns to hunt. One day we were out of food. My colonel asked me and some others to get a deer. But I said, 'There are no more deer in the hills. We must go to the towns for a deer.' So we went down into Santiago and there, among the banana trees, we found and killed a deer.

"Later on the food gave out. The cows and bulls had been hunted down and

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175 169 722 [369] [167] During this period there were no civilians in Tepoztlán. Many of the men joined the forces of Zapata. To those who did not was presented the choice of fleeing to the hills or of going to one of the cities, usually Mexico City, where security was greater. The people who were already used to the city and who were more likely to have friends there and to have the money necessary to become established there, went to the city. The poorer people, who were also those least used to city ways, were the ones who went to the hills. Hill exile was a life of isolation, a life of rumor, of reliance upon the most primitive techniques of maintenance.[1]

[722] [728] killed; the corn was eaten up. If an orange was found it was taken quickly and eaten green. Many, many died of hunger, both soldiers and non-combatants. When, after this time, food was obtained again, some died because they ate too much. We began with a half a *tortilla* at a time, and so escaped death from gorging."

[1] A *tonto* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian tells of his experiences: "Times were very horrible during the revolution. At first people stayed in Tepoztlán. J. C. [a *correcto*] was not there, but his father stayed at first, until it grew too bad; and then he too went to Mexico City. Tepoztlán was deserted for two years. The soldiers came and ate the corn, and killed all the animals. The Carranzistas killed what they didn't want to eat; not an animal was left. The troops came at last to eat dogs and cats, there was so little food. No one was safe. Many were killed, and not even buried. If the Carranzistas saw anyone, they shot him without any question.

"Many went to the cities, some to the hills. I went to the hills with my family. There were my father, my mother, and seven brothers. I was sixteen. We lived in a cave in the heights, in that direction [toward Yautepec]. We took the *metates* along. But we had no animals; we carried everything ourselves. We lived by what food we could find in the hills or in the towns, and by what we could sell in Mexico City. We used to carry fruit to Mexico to sell. Fruit was very expensive there. We sold limes at ten *pesos* a hundred. If you could just get a hold of a thousand limes and bring them to Mexico City, you had a hundred *pesos*. We took avocados too. We traveled only at night. It took two nights. When dawn came we camped somewhere in the hills beyond Tres Marías. Xochimilco was the bad place to go through; the Carranzistas waited there and killed many. We brought back soap and salt.

[164] "Then the fever came. Three of my brothers died. Bury them there? No, we

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City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution[1] sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex-

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

[1] A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecan *correctos* went to the city.

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(peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapolotzin* (peak of the butterfly), *El Tlamintepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted many tourists in recent years.

The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the *cerros.*

The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semi-tropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

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621 site in a barrio to which neither spouse belongs and thereby acquire membership in a barrio new to both of them.

621 624 666 794 Each barrio elects a *mayordomo* who is in charge of barrio affairs. To be eligible for *mayordomo* one must be a native of the village, a member of the barrio and a married man, though exceptions to the latter are known. A reputation for honesty and a willingness to serve the barrio are of course essential. The position of *mayordomo* is one that takes a lot of time and expense. As a rule the rich families do not seek this position, though there may be some pressure upon them to accept. Normally the *mayordomo* is elected for one year, but during recent years there has been a paucity of candidates, especially in the smaller barrios, and some *mayordomos* have had to serve for as long as five years at a time. Recently the barrio of San Sebastián had to get a member of the adjoining barrio of San Miguel for a *mayordomo* because they could find no one within the barrio who wanted the job. The election for *mayordomo* takes place the evening before the Day of the Dead, when the barrio members meet in the churchyard. Only the men participate. A bonfire is made, punch is served, and likely candidates are briefly discussed. A few speeches in Náhuatl may be made and the *mayordomo* is selected by mutual agreement. There is no formal voting. Barrio elections come the closest to truly democratic processes in the village. The elections are not controlled by the priest of the central church.

621 624 794 The incumbent receives from the former *mayordomo* a list of the contributors of the barrio, the key to the church and to the trunk or chest where the religious objects and ornaments are kept. Some of the more valuable jewels are entrusted by the *mayordomo* to a barrio member *de confianza*. The *mayordomo* also receives the funds of the barrio. Most barrios have a fund of a few hundred pesos. In 1943 Los Reyes had 150 pesos and Santo Domingo had 450 pesos.

The *mayordomo* is responsible for the collection of *limosnas*, the organization of the barrio *cuatequitl* or collective labor for the upkeep of the chapel, the preparation and organization of the barrio fiesta, and the maintenance of the church. To do all of this he appoints assistant *mayordomos* and committees who are responsible to him. The *mayordomo* has no authority beyond his personal appeal and prestige. During the twenties when the Cristeros attacked the village, the *mayordomos* organized defense corps for the protection of the barrio chapels. [722]

114 621 794 [182] The most important role of the barrio is religious and social. The barrio saint is a symbol of the collective spirit of the barrio, and the barrio organization—with its *mayordomos*, collective labor on the communally owned plot of land, and the annual barrio fiesta—acts as a unifying influence. This aspect of the barrio was well described by Redfield and, except for a few changes, still holds today.

But it is at the time of the fiesta that the collective importance of the *barrio* members reaches its highest importance, and the chapel becomes the great focus of interest for the entire *pueblo* and even for neighboring villages. The decoration of the chapel, the ceremonial bringing of the candles, the burning of the candles, the erection and burning of the *castillo*, the preparation and consumption of festal dishes, the playing of the ancient

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To a lesser degree the election of federal senator and deputies also touches the Tepoztecan population. On these occasions politicians from the capital come to the village to electioneer and to organize sympathizers for their candidates. However, the intervention of the governor of the state is much more direct in these elections, and so Tepoztecans tend to view them as state or regional elections. On the whole, the younger generation participates very little in politics, since this is a matter for the older men.

Some indication of the Tepoztecan sense of belonging to the Mexican nation may be gathered from their reaction to the question of Mexico's participation in World War II. Most Tepoztecans were opposed to Mexican entrance into the war on the side of the democracies. Under the influence of Sinarquist propaganda, sympathy with the Axis powers developed in the village. Rumors began to circulate that Zapata was not really dead but was fighting with Hitler, and that that explained why the Germans were winning so many victories. The latent and widespread anti-U.S.A. sentiment was encouraged by rumors that the Mexicans were being asked to fight to save the gringos. Nevertheless, the Tepoztecans accepted the Mexican declaration of war as one of those decisions of the omnipotent federal government, about which nothing can be done. This Tepoztecan attitude of passivity was typical of the attitude of most Mexicans toward the war.

Since the Revolution the state of Morelos has developed an intense political life that has reached into Tepoztlán. After the thirties, constitutional government was instituted and the governor and local officials were elected, rather than imposed. Political campaigns and electioneering became important; and Tepoztlán, because of its proximity to the state capital, received much attention from prospective candidates. In the attempt to get votes, speakers appealed to state loyalty with such slogans as, "First the Morelenses and then the Mexicans," and made typical demagogic preelection speeches. A good number of Tepoztecans show enthusiasm and interest in state politics, and several hundred men generally turn out to hear the speeches. The election of a new governor always means the possibility of some advantage to the village, or at least to a few Tepoztecans who have actively supported him.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

The Tepoztecan economy is not self-sufficient, and is an integral part of the larger national economy. Tepoztlán exports corn, charcoal, and plums to Mexico City, and in turn imports manufactured goods and some foods. Trading relations involve contacts with individuals in the big city, and occasionally Tepoztecans go directly to Mexico City to make purchases. Since the construction of the road, trade and economic contacts with Mexico City have been much more frequent. The tourist trade has also made for increased contacts with outsiders.

Trade between Tepoztlán and other towns in the state of Morelos develops knowledge of the region and its peoples. Tepoztlán carries on most of its trade with Cuernavaca and Yautepec, but also with smaller towns and villages in the state.

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provide food elements which the Tepoztecan diet would otherwise lack, since there is little cultivation of leafy green vegetables. But it is impossible to determine to what extent wild greens are consumed, because they are considered very poor fare, and Tepoztecans do not readily admit eating them. During times of scarcity a large number of families eat wild greens in quantity several times a week, and the chronically poor eat them regularly throughout the year. During the Revolution many families escaped starvation by subsisting almost entirely on wild plants. The names of most of these plants are native Indian terms, and are as follows:

quintoniles	*papalo*
verdolaga	*chipiles*
tesquite	*tequesquite*
pipisacos	*quelites*

Violets boiled with *tequesquite* are also eaten. The herbs are well-known spices, and medicinal grasses or leaves are used to make a variety of teas.

Additional fruits and vegetables are brought in by traveling merchants or are purchased in the large market in Cuernavaca. However, most of these are expensive and only the few well-to-do families of Tepoztlán can afford to purchase them more or less regularly. Foods not locally produced and commonly purchased in the stores of Tepoztlán, Yautepec, Cuernavaca, or Mexico City are bread,[1] sugar, salt, rice, certain types of chile and beans, noodles, and dried codfish. Chocolate is also purchased but is considered a luxury. Foods which are slowly becoming more popular but which are still purchased by a small minority are evaporated and powdered milk, canned sardines, tomato herring, or other fish.

The eating of white bread made of wheat flour is of particular interest in Mexico, since it is a relatively new trait and one which has been taken to indicate the degree of acculturation of individuals and groups. In Tepoztlán, bread is considered a very desirable food; and often the social and economic status of a family is judged in terms of the amount of bread that it consumes. From the Mexican Census of 1940, which included a question designed to estimate the number of persons who eat bread fairly regularly, we learned that over 31 per cent of the population of Tepoztlán eat bread. At present there is scarcely a family that does not eat some bread during the week or month, though it may be but once or twice. It is especially favored as a food for very small children, and even the poorest family seeks to provide a piece of bread daily for its youngest child. There is no indication, however, that bread will eventually displace the tortilla; at most, bread consumption among well-to-do families may represent about 10 per cent of the total food expenditure.

There is, of course, much variation in the actual consumption of food. Except among the wealthier families, irregularity in diet is characteristic throughout the year, and few families maintain a uniformly good diet from day to day even according to local standards. The type and quantity of food consumed is determined by the season, the fiesta calendar, and, most of all, the amount of cash on hand. "When

[1] Bread is baked locally, but wheat flour is purchased outside.

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175 669 the Zapatista forces rarely were stationed in the village for more than a few days at a time since they were guerrilla fighters.

The Federales, on the other hand, set up troops whenever they could hold the village. Tepoztecans suffered at the hands of both the rebels and the government forces. Cattle were killed off, corn was requisitioned, women raped. Most informants attribute to the Carrancistas the greatest brutalities. Because of the pro-rebel sympathies of Tepoztecans, the government forces on a number of occasions carried off hundreds of Tepoztecan men and women as hostages to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Tepoztecans were suspected of secretly helping the Zapatista forces, and by removing the women to Cuernavaca the government prevented them from making tortillas for the rebels. Moreover, the village was partially burned by Federales in 1912, 1913, and 1914.

By 1915 the village was in the hands of the Carrancistas, but then the Zapatista [722] counter-offensive began and Tepoztlán again changed hands. During 1914, 1915, and 1916 the villagers fled to the *cerros* and lived there for as long as six months at a time. The men would sometimes steal back to the village to pick up some fruit or supplies and to bury their dead.

[164] During 1916 Tepoztlán suffered a severe typhoid epidemic, thought to have been brought by the Carrancista troops. It was not until 1918 that the fighting was definitely over.

The history of the Revolution in Tepoztlán demonstrates a fundamental lack of unity among the people. Within the first few months after the revolt began, some of the ablest Tepoztecan rebel leaders had killed off one another and the village was left with no leadership. Only a handful of Tepoztecans understood the ideals of the Zapata movement and were motivated by them. Most Tepoztecans, though attracted by the promises that they would be given the lands of the neighboring haciendas, joined the conflict only when it was absolutely necessary in terms of self-defense. Were it not for the terrible abuses of the Federales it is probable that most Tepoztecans would have remained neutral.

In getting accounts of the Revolution from informants we found that many, particularly the women, had only the vaguest notion of what the Revolution was about. The following excerpts paraphrased from the life stories of informants give some of the details of life during the difficult days of the Revolution:

At first I gave little attention to the beginning of the Revolution. I saw soldiers, Federales, in the Palacio Municipal. They seemed alarmed and on the alert. They wore black hats with pompoms. I asked my father what this all meant and he told me the Revolution was coming. And so it came to pass. In February or March of 1911 Gabriel Tepepa and Lucio Moreno, the latter from the village of Gabriel Mariaca, entered the village at the head of troops. There was no battle. All I heard were cries, "Viva Madero," "Viva la Virgen de Gaudalupe." Then the people in my barrio were alarmed and little groups began to form to ask what was happening. I learned that the Revolution had begun and that they had burned the documents in the municipal archives. They looked for the *caciques* but could not find them, for they had heard the attack on the Palacio and had fled. The revolutionaries then broke into the *carique* houses and ransacked them. Lucio

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ceived the ashes together in a special place set aside in the church. The apportionment of the ashes was done in a hierarchal order for the entire population, first the high functionaries, next the *caciques* and their wives, then the assistant functionaries, and finally the townsmen. In another distribution, ashes were given to those from neighboring villages, then to individuals from more distant villages, and finally to all latecomers.

Despite the increased importance of the church at this time some Tepoztecans, without giving up their faith, had developed a critical attitude toward the church. While most remained passive and docile, by the time the Revolution began many Tepoztecans were ready to join the struggle against the church and state.

THE REVOLUTION

The coming of the Mexican Revolution severely disrupted the religious life of Tepoztlán. The priest and the *caciques*, the strongest supporters of the church, fled for their lives and religious activity came to a standstill. The church and chapels were abandoned, the ancient monastery became troop headquarters and stables, and soldiers camped in the churchyard. Church and municipal archives were reduced to ashes, the sacred communion cups disappeared, cloaks were taken from the holy images to cover the wounded. For weeks at a time the local population had to live in the hills to avoid being killed. As an informant put it, "Who could think of religion in those days?"

After many bitter years peace was slowly established, and "since man cannot live without religion, for it makes him bad," once again the people began to think of the church.

In 1920, when the fighting was about over, an incident occurred which greatly stimulated religious life. At that time there was a drought in Tepoztlán and the surrounding area and the crops were severely threatened. In the same year, according to our informants, El Tepozteco returned to Tepoztlán. He appeared to a peasant from Yautepec who was on his way to Tepoztlán. The mythical figure no longer wore his ancient dress but was dressed as a humble peasant in white shirt and *calzones* and broad-brimmed Zapatista sombrero, and with a handkerchief tied around his neck in typical local fashion.

El Tepozteco spoke to the peasant, saying, "Go and tell my village that I am very angry because they have my mother (the Virgin of Natividad) naked and that is why I have not wanted it to rain. They must buy her a crown and a tunic of silk and satin and then I will send abundant rain."

Then he mysteriously disappeared and the man from Yautepec hurried to Tepoztlán to tell what had happened. When the news had spread through the village, some of the *mayordomos* of the old *cofradías* took it upon themselves to collect money to buy the clothing and adornment for the Virgin. A few days later, according to Tepoztecans, it began to rain and the crops were saved.

With the help of this incident the more pious people sought to re-establish the church and return to their former religious practices. The village priest, Padre Pedro

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Rojas, still resided in Mexico City and refused to return for fear of attack by the revolutionaries. During his absence some of his functions were carried on by *rezanderos*, laymen who knew from memory a great number of prayers for different occasions, such as for a dying man, a difficult delivery, the reappearance of lost or stolen articles, good crops, avoiding arguments in the family, keeping the husband from drinking too much, and so on. The *rezanderos* were kept busy in those difficult days and earned a comfortable income.

In the absence of the regular priest, a young priest was sent to the village in 1919. He energetically set about to put the church in order. He appointed new *mayor domos* of the *cofradías*, a new leader of the Asociación de la Divina Providencia, and a church *cantor*. But Tepoztecans seemed to have forgotten Catholic practices during the Revolution, and hardly anyone went to confession or Mass—despite the exhortations and threats of the Father.

The only practice the villagers still conscientiously clung to was baptism, and they were eager to baptize the children born during the Revolution. To get the people to attend church once more, the priest refused to baptize any child until the godparents were confessed. But Tepoztecans had forgotten the prayers and the formalities of confession and were afraid and embarrassed to appear before the priest. As a result, they were unwilling to become godparents. Parents were then forced to ask the few *rezanderos* who had kept their connections with the church to be the *padrinos* of their children. These men eventually monopolized the godparentage of the village and even came to charge for this service. One *rezandero* had about one hundred godchildren. Needless to say, the *rezanderos* were unable and unwilling to fulfill their obligations as godfathers, and scarcely recognized their godchildren. The parents considered the original godparent of their choice as the true godparent, rather than the *padrinos rezanderos* who were forced upon them.

When the village was more peaceful the regular priest returned with some of the *cacique* families, and religious life became normal once again—but without its former splendor. Fiestas were again celebrated, the popular Carnaval again held. The ban against baptism without confession was lifted and anyone might serve as godparent.

But the new tranquillity was soon to be shattered, this time by the Catholic Church which feared restraining measures of the post-revolutionary government. The church adopted a policy of non-cooperation and active resistance. On July 31, 1926, the archbishop of Mexico ordered all priests to leave the churches and to cease public religious services. Faithful Catholics were called upon to withdraw their children from the public schools to protect them from "socialist teaching." Priests were instructed to give Mass and to administer the sacraments in a clandestine manner.

In Tepoztlán these church orders resulted in the priest's once again leaving for Mexico City, and religious activity waned. The most important prayers and ceremonies were conducted secretly by one of the more able *rezanderos*. Don Francisco